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ABSTRACT

Fifty researchable questions are framed in terms of nine broad problems suggested for social science research. The problems are: How much movement will be needed to attain and maintain integrated schools in the metropolitan centers? What roles should state and federal agencies play in school desegregation? How should the organization, control and administration of urban school districts change to accommodate desegregation? What are the elements which lead to a successful school integration program? What leadership roles are essential to successful integration? How can all schools be staffed multiculturally? Does socioeconomic integration of schools enhance racial integration? What outcomes of integrated education can and should be measured? How can equal educational opportunity be achieved? The contributions of social science research can bring school integration back into sharper focus as a major goal for American society. As part of this report, an extended bibliography and chart of planning networks for desegregated schools are included. (Author/JP)

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DESEGREGATION, SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH AND THE COURTS: A FUTURISTIC PERSPECTIVE

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A fuzzy thing happened to television and integration on their way to school.

Both were newcomers in the mid-fifties. Both raised immediate concerns, some of which were strikingly alike: Educational television would replace classroom teachers, endanger children's health and lead to a nationalized curriculum; desegregation would displace teachers, endanger children's safety and lead to federalized schools.

Both fields needed software but became embroiled with hardware. It came down to a matter of vehicles--for ETV whether by air, cable or tape; for integration, whether by bus or foot. Both fields needed programs more than technology.

Both produced research comparing new and traditional ways, with unstartling results--the no-significant-difference syndrome (see St. John (29))--instead of demonstrating their uniquenesses: What can ETV do that traditional

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methods can't? What can integrated schools accomplish that segregated ones cannot?

Now, two decades later, neither ETV nor integration has become woven into the fabric of American education. Even those schools which receive broadcast lessons and/or bused students typically accept them as appendages to, not changes from, the old ways.

The future is more blurred for integration than for television, which has gone on to win educative roles for itself outside the school. Integration's last stand may be in the schools. As housing becomes more segregated, public education may be America's last hope of avoiding the separate societies of which the Kerner Commission warned in 1968.

This paper attempts to identify some researchable problems for social scientists. The answers may, if not lead the courts, help school boards, educators and the public improve the process, product and purposes of desegregation--just means, just ends, just schools.

Not that social scientists have been overly influential in the past. James Coleman was anathema to school officials a decade ago. Who were these social scientists, anyway, trying to tell the educators how to run schools? Let society deal with social problems, educators said, and leave the teaching to us. Resolving learning problems is a big enough job without taking on societal ills of poverty, segregation, crime and unemployment.

Nothing disturbed the educators as much as the sociologists' call for school integration. There was no evidence, many said, that blacks performed any better in a mixed school than in a separate one. Even if integrated schools were better, blacks weren't ready for them. And, besides, there was the difference, they said, between the de jure schools of the south and the de facto schools of the north.

This confusion of social justifications with legal justice undoubtedly contributed to the inertia that has characterized the country's response to

Brown v. Board of Education The call for integrated schools has been greeted with "Why?" instead of "How?" If social science research persuaded the Court in Brown, it was not persuasive to the school boards, administrators and others charged to act "with all deliberate speed."

In short, the courts, not the educators, have designed desegregation, and children have benefited less than they might have over the past twenty-three years.

Maybe it would have been better if Footnote 11 had not been written in the Brown decision. The impressive testimony by Kenneth Clark and others may have been taken into account as was the background for the states' ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment. But the Court's decision was a straightforward, legal one: Separate schools are inherently unequal. As John Minor Wisdom has written, "I . . . should hate to think that the constitutional right of Negroes not to be segregated in education or in any other segment of American life rested on the social science evidence brought forth in Brown." (38: 138)

Whatever effect it may have had on the justices, social science research seems to have misled a segment of the public in at least two important ways. First, by focusing on the low aspirations and achievement of black children associated with segregation, it led to the assumption that desegregation would improve black pupils' self-image and success in school. When these results did not automatically follow, opponents of desegregation could claim that desegregation was a failure. Never mind that the desegregation of drinking fountains did not guarantee purer--or even better tasting--water, the expectations for integrated schools were that they had to be better schools or desegregation was not justified.

Secondly, the assumption that desegregated schools were better schools apparently misled school boards and educators into assuming that the educational benefits flowing therefrom were automatic. Mere moving of bodies, went this assumption, meant better instruction and higher achievement. Thus many desegregation plans made little or no provision for curriculum preparation, staff development or special pupil services--and sometimes the lack of preparation was with malice aforethought.

Social scientists may also have contributed to the tactics of evasion that have characterized the past decade. If the educational problems of the

black child were rooted in poverty, low self-esteem and educational deprivation, then remedies other than desegregation seemed justifiable. One was the Great Society's compensatory programs, which Richard Nixon later was to propell to separate-but-equal intensity by promising, but never delivering, $1.5 billion to improve inner-city schools . . . instead of busing.

Another evasion was to see the problem as too big to resolve and therefore capable of being ignored. Daniel Patrick Moynihan's recommendation of "benign neglect" and Jensen's and Shockley's excursions into racist genetics come to mind.

In one way or another much of the research to date has been directed toward justifying desegregation. Even though the issue continues to be fought in court on a city-by-city basis, desegregation is the law. For the future, let us focus on how to achieve and maintain integration, with all the symbiotic improvements to public education that may be possible.

The Uprooting of Segregation--Just Schools

Courts have continued to broaden the range of remedies available for school desegregation. As the dismantling of dual systems has moved closer to the metropolises of the north it has become apparent that novel approaches will be needed to overcome the entrenched discriminations in housing--and the Supreme Court has given mixed signals in upholding zoning barriers in the Chicago suburb of Arlington Heights but mandating HUD in Chicago to disperse low and moderate income housing. Taeubers' work (33) on the extent of housing segregation in cities has made it clear that integration of black neighborhoods is generations away. For those who champion "ethnic purity," Farley (6) has used Taueber's index system to show that a typical "Polish" neighborhood is only half as "Polish" as a black neighborhood is black, thus reinforcing the assumption that color, not ethnicity, is the determining factor in America's peculiar institution. Thus the following questions seem pertinent:

1. How much movement will be needed to attain and maintain integrated schools in the metropolitan centers?

Research to date has presented us with terms such as tipping point, metropolitan desegregation, white flight and resegregation--but little insight as to the extent and kind of movement that will be needed to remove the

racial identifiability of urban schools. Opponents of desegregation sometimes refer to it derisively as "merely moving bodies." This implies that reassignment of pupils is simple, when logistically it usually is not.

Demographers have been more productive in describing what has happened socio-economically within census tracts than in hypothesizing the future results of various desegregation policies and practices. Although Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, early employed the computer for random assignment of students moving into the district, data processing programs have been conspicuously absent elsewhere as a tool for testing desegregation proposals. Perhaps because boards of education pleaded color blindness with respect to their past actions and inactions, they fear foreseeing too clearly the consequences of actions taken in the name of desegregation.

The Desegregation Studies Unit of the National Institute of Education (4) last year framed six "key researchable questions" relating to some of the assumed negative outcomes of desegregation:

1) Why does white flight occur in some cities undergoing school desegregation and not in others?

2) What impact does the availability of private and parochial schools have upon white flight?

3) Are there variations in white flight contingent upon the particular form and process of implementing school desegregation?

4) Does white flight slow down, stop, or continue at previous rates in cities where metropolitan desegregation plans are in effect?

5) Do innovations within school systems (magnet schools, etc.) influence the presence or absence of white flight?

6) For both the percentage minority in the school district, is there a "tipping point" which influences the presence or absence of white flight? (4: 26)

A breakthrough to metropolitan solutions may temporarily be blocked in the courts, as in Detroit. The Supreme Court's sending back the Indianapolis and Austin cases and its agreement to hear the Dayton case may signal that tougher standards for fashioning remedies lie ahead. The Bell Justice Department seems content to press for limited remedies in its briefs to date. In this climate it is all the more important that social scientists document the scope of solutions needed.

2. What roles should state and federal agencies play in school desegregation?

With rare exceptions, local school districts have played a lonely role with the courts and with voluntary desegregation plans. A few state boards of education, notably Minnesota's, have laid down guidelines for school integration. In California, the Stockton schools were ordered in March 1977 to desegregate, by the state supreme court. But many states have ignored or actively opposed desegregation. Not until 1976 did Mississippi vote to remove the clause from its constitution calling for "separate schools . . . for white and colored children"--by a slim 57% majority. Confronted by evidence of segregation in the Columbus schools, the Ohio State Board of Education explained that it had taken no action because Columbus school officials had requested no investigation. "This position borders on the preposterous," the Federal District Court said. "It cannot reasonably be expected that those who violate the Constitution will be anxious for an investigation in order that a remedy may be leveled against them." (21: 67)

Just as most states have paid for much of the transportation to rural consolidated, suburban, area vocational and special education schools, there is no reason that urban transportation costs for desegregation should not be borne at the state level. Encouragingly, the Illinois State Board of Education is seeking an appropriation of $1 million to encourage intra- and inter-district transfer of students, including transportation costs. In what could be yet another variation of generally ineffective "open enrollment" plans, however, a bill introduced in the Washington State Senate would pay $300 to $500 directly to students who transfer schools to end racial segregation.

Among the states, then, what financial, accreditation, curriculum, transportation, planning, contracting, pupil accounting, testing, inservice education and multicultural policies and practices are furthering school desegregation? What additional policies and practices are needed?

The Carter administration apparently is going to press for state and local governmental participation in the costs of desegregation. "The remedial decree should seek to alleviate those intangible effects as well as ending the actual segregation of black students in some schools and white students in others," the Justice Department says in a brief for the Detroit case. (2)

At the Federal level, it is time for an overall assessment of the effectiveness of the Emergency School Aid program, of the Title IV-funded

desegregation institutes and centers, and of the relationship of ESEA Title I and other compensatory programs to urban integration.

- How much integration has been accomplished with Federal aid?
- To what extent does the distribution of funds correlate with the degree of desegration in participating districts?
- How effective is the Federal Government in carrying out the Constitutional mandate to desegrate?

As Harrell R. Rogers, Jr., writes, "federal coercion will be necessary. Districts that have maintained segregated systems for decades and have ignored the moral mandate of Brown for more than twenty years are not likely now to admit their wrongs and voluntarily implement desegregation." (26: 128)

3. How should the organization, control and administration of urban school districts change to accommodate desegration?

Granting that the Supreme Court seems reluctant to breach local political boundaries, what can social science tell us about alternatives for future governance of metropolitan schools? From the community-control conflicts of the sixties to the more generalized public frustration with governmental bureaucracies that characterize the seventies, decentralization has been a troublesome issue in American education. It was met with teacher-community turmoil in New York, local-central board struggles in Detroit, and unresolved issues of authority and responsibility in other places. Now the prospect of inter-district exchange of pupils is enlarging the concepts of urban districts to metropolitan districts.

- Can desegregation best be accomplished through cooperation among or consolidation of school districts?
- How big should an urban district be--the city, the county, the standard metropolitan area?
- What functions, if any, can be decentralized successfully, and to what size units--a building, a feeder-system, an area, a region?

As schools with different student bodies, and as administrative units with different organizations, take shape, how can provision be made for:

- citizen--particularly parent and student--participation
- protection of minority rights and minority involvement in the decision-making process
- equitable distribution of resources in light of student needs?

The Process of Desegregation--Just Means

Courts are not expert in education. Desegregation remedies are fashioned to correct Constitutional violations, not necessarily to improve instruction. After the assassination of Charles Glatt in Dayton in 1975, an Ohio State University colleague interviewed one of the judges for whom Glatt had worked as a consultant. "I don't hesitate to tell you," the judge said, "that I know very little about education. I try the (desegregation) case strictly on the law." When Glatt was still alive, I recall a marvelous occasion on which he prevailed upon another judge to engage in a long-distance conversation by telephone with a group of us interested in how he decided one of the nation's landmark cases. "I grew up in segregated schools," this judge said, "and it had never occurred to me that education should be any other way. During the course of the trial I visited some of the black schools and had my eyes opened."

The point here is that school boards and educators, not courts, are accountable for the educational program in desegrated schools. They need to provide answers to the following questions:

4. What are the elements that lead to a successful school integration program?

Charles Glatt spent much of the past decade studying and developing elements that should go into a good integration plan. His concern was with the total community. In as yet unpublished manuscripts, Glatt analyzed at length the principles of desegregation set forth in Supreme Court decisions and much of the "permissable baggage" attached in important cases. He noted that courts had taken jurisdiction of such diverse matters as pupil assignment, school construction, teacher hiring and placement practices, and avoidance of tracking systems.

Similar to the work of Smith and Downs (31), Glatt and his associates categorized the necessary steps in successful implementation of court-ordered desegregation. They developed a flow chart (see attachment) to indicate the sequence of steps and the interrelationships between policy and program development, pupil assignment, community involvement and information, and

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staff preparation. His work offers a possible framework for studying desegregation planning and implementation. Answers are needed to questions such as these:

- What competencies are needed by teachers and administrators to function effectively in a multicultural setting?
- How can systems management concepts and skills be applied to the process of school integration?
- What special contributions may the fields of physical and cultural anthropology, political science, psychology, philosophy, ecology and the humanities make to integrated education?
- What assessment instruments are most effective for determining needs, identifying problems and measuring progress in the process of school integration?
- What techniques for conflict resolution are most effective in integrated schools? How can minorities achieve parity in their participation?
- How should problems of discipline, expulsion and dropouts be handled in the desegregating school?

Meyer Weinberg, whose chronicling of events and research related to integration have been immense in recent years, provides a rubric for categorizing future materials in the new Research Review of Equal Education (25). His headings also may useful to other researchers in categorizing needed data:

1) Historical Background
2) The Legal Framework
3) Economics of Equality
4) The Possibilities of Learning
5) Desegregation and Achievement
6) Desegregation, Self-Concept, and Aspirations
7) Desegregation and Student Interaction
8) Desegregation and the School Staff
9) The Educative Role of the Community
10) The Spanish-Speaking Child
11) The Indian American Child

5. What leadership roles are essential to successful integration?

Former Superintendent William Self has described the difficult times after the Court had ordered desegregation of the Charlotte-Mecklenburg schools

when the administrators worked late into the nights at one end of the Board of Education Building trying to implement the decision--while Board members labored at the other end trying to undo their efforts and overturn the Court's decision. Fortunately not all communities have the negative leadership of a Mayor Kevin White or Board Member Louise Day Hicks of Boston, but few boards have ventured out in front of their electorates, and many have stalled for years on the premise that the majority didn't want desegregation and the Board was bound by the majority. "Indeed," observes Lillian B. Rubin, "to insist that the rules of democracy required that the school board be bound by the will of the majority was to deny the oppressive and undemocratic consequences to blacks of that white majority will. More important, it was to fail to grasp that one of the most vexing political problems of late-twentieth-century America is not how to ensure majority rule, but how to protect minorities from majority tyranny. (27: 208)

The United States Commission on Civil Rights (35) cited leadership as an essential element to successful integration. From the White House to the state house to city hall, however, it is clear that desegregation has had little support and less leadership. In his memoirs the late Earl Warren quotes President Eisenhower as urging Supreme Court deference to southern sensibilities in the Brown case: "All they are concerned about is to see that their sweet little girls are not required to sit in schools alongside some big overgrown Negroes," Ike said. (22) It may be futile to try to assess the political impact an Ike, a Kennedy or a Nixon has had on desegregation, but it may be fruitful to define more carefully the roles that are needed in government leaders. Dunaway has shown that mayors play visible and invisible roles in school desegregation. He advocates federal pressure through funding guidelines that will force more inter-agency cooperation in planning for and implementing desegregation. (5)

- What roles by mayors, governors and other political leaders have contributed most significantly to school integration?
- How can regional and city planning be coordinated with educational planning to facilitate integration?
- How can the media of mass communications best be involved?
- How can school boards and administrators deal most effectively with polarization and majority-minority splits on boards during desegregation?

. What special roles can business, labor, religious and other voluntary organizations play to assist in integration?

6. How can schools be staffed multiculturally?

Despite Singleton Ratios and affirmative action, American schools continue to be woefully underrepresentative of minorities in their staffing. Regretably, the U. S. Office of Education has not published the ethnic characteristics of students and staffs in U. S. schools since 1972 (HEW Secretary Califano promises an update this spring), but few states employ as much as half the proportion of minority teachers as minority students in the schools--and suburban students seldom see racially different teachers at all.

Of equal concern, even the schools--mostly urban--that have increased minority hiring have tended to perpetuate racist stereotypes in promotion and assignments. Although the public schools of Texas employ an unusually large proportion of black educators (10.7% of all teachers in 1975-76), figures derived from Texas Education Agency reports indicate that blacks tend to be in lesser numbers in positions of higher pay and prestige:

EMPLOYMENT OF BLACK PROFESSIONALS IN
TEXAS PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1975-1976

	Black		Total
	Number	Per Cent	Number
Superintendent	5	.1%	799
Deputy/Associate/Assistant Supt.	23	6.0	382
Other Central Office Administrator	246	10.8	2,280
Senior High Principal	28	4.1	684
Junior High Principal	52	8.0	648
Elementary School Principal	204	8.9	2,304
Assistant Principal, Any Level	299	18.4	1,626
Supervisor	93	5.4	1,720
Secondary School Teacher	5,415	8.5	63,881
Elementary School Teacher	7,267	12.2	59,463

In Texas it would take just under ten thousand more black professionals --ranging from 33% more visiting teachers to 91% more administrators--for the proportion of black educators to equal the 15.5% black enrollment in the public schools of the state. For most northern and western states the gap would be even wider.

Controversies over Singleton Ratios and affirmative action have not yet reversed the movement toward more representative staffing, but the gains of recent years have not been as great as complainants about "reverse discrimination" have led members of the public to believe. Hence, a key goal of those concerned about the educational values of a multiethnic staff in a pluralistic society has been all but ignored: how to assure that all children in all American schools experience teachers and other professionals who come from different racial, ethnic and cultural backgrounds. More examination needs to be made of questions such as these:

- To what extent are minorities represented in administrative positions of decision-making authority and prestige?
- How evenly are minority teachers spread among the subjects and grade-levels of instruction, and, within subjects, among the general versus the advanced courses?
- How fully are minorities represented among head coaches, athletic officials and other extra-duty assignments?
- What inservice preparation have teachers and administrators had for filling racial cross-over assignments?
- What are state certification agencies doing to assure preparation and preservice field experiences in multicultural education for future teachers and administrators?
- How representative are the staffs of the colleges of education and universities that are preparing teachers for the public schools?

"The reason for giving preference to minority groups is not to be nice to individual students or even to whole classes . . . (it) is to achieve equality for persons or groups to whom equality has long been denied--originally in obvious ways, later through subtler devices," says Robert M. O'Neil. (20: 160-61)

The American Ideal of Equality--Just Ends

In many minds desegregation is an end in itself. Rather, it is, of

course, only a means to the goal of integrated schools. But since public education serves to prepare children for the larger society, what must be envisioned is the schools' contribution to an America dedicated to the full equality of all human beings. Although Christopher Jencks (11) may have given unwarranted comfort to racist supporters of Shockley and Jensen and although he seemed to discredit the importance of schools to future success, he underscored a fact of American society: the gap between the richest and poorest Americans has been widening. "We have too long labored under the illusion," asserts Murray Milner, Jr., "that the structures of inequality can be significantly changed by dabbling with the educational system." (16: 144) At the core of the issue of inequality, he continues, is "the unwillingness of the haves to share with--or more accurately live with--the have nots." (16: 141)

Levine maintains that only a fourth to a half of the gap between the earnings of blacks and whites is explained by measurable differences in qualifications. He advocates redistribution of wealth as a sort of insurance (13: 298)

Lansberg (12) notes that Brown has led to a diffusion of lawyers' efforts in other aspects of equality, such as fair employment suits against suburban schools, rights of non-English speaking children, the handicapped and females and the fair implementation of federal programs. We must speak more directly to the ultimate results of school desegregation.

7. Does socioeconomic integration of schools enhance racial integration?

Perhaps the question should be phrased oppositely, for it has not escaped the attention of desegregation opponents that race mixing could upset the economic class system. Says Lino A. Graglia,

> Because blacks, despite great recent advances, are still disproportionately poorer than whites, compulsory school racial integration typically amounts to class integration. . . . Resistance to class integration cannot, as easily as racism, be dismissed as indefensible. There is much in the American ideal that looks to a classless society, but also much that recognizes the desire to attain and enjoy economic and cultural advantages as legitimate, or even as essential to progress. (9: 266-67)

The Duluth, Minnesota, schools are among the first to include socioeconomic

characteristics in a desegregation plan. What effect will it have on the heterogeniety of schools, on the future composition of neighborhoods, on the attitudes and achievement of pupils, on the relationships between the races? Is it true, as Robert M. O'Neil writes, that "the academic community has the capability to contribute more heavily toward the solution of such seemingly irradicable problems as segregated housing, ghetto schools, employment discrimination, and other forms of racial isolation"? (20: 160)

- To what extent is racial isolation and discrimination linked to socioeconomic isolation and discrimination?
- What problems in human relationships are based on racial/ethnic differences as distinguished from socioeconomic differences?
- How does the social class status of parents affect the social status of young children in school? of adolescents? of older students?
- What motivators assumed to be limited or lacking in low socio-economic schools can be effective in an integrated school?

Schools may have more social impact that they have been credited with by Jencks and others. Willie holds that "it would appear that the educational environment of a school has a greater effect upon whether or not a student likes his school mates and feels he is accepted by them and is a part of the school than have personal characteristics and family circumstances. (37: 86)

8. What outcomes of integrated education can and should be measured?

Summers and Wolfe have done much to dispell the notion that school inputs cannot be related to outputs. To date, however, measures of what we invest in education and what society reaps from it have been indicative rather than definitive. This arises partly from the difficulty of tracing money, personnel and other resources to a particular program or individual, and partly from limited instruments for measuring anything but cognitive learning in basic subjects.

Consequently, irrational charges have been made about the costs of busing and other expenses of desegregation, and irreconcilable claims have been made about the help or harm to students. It is time to seek fundamental answers to questions like:

- What are the major goals of an integrated school and how should they be prioritized?

- What accountabilities do the state, the school board, the parents, the educators and the students have to the attainment of goals?
- What are the anticipated outcomes from an integrated curriculum and how can they be measured?
- In addition to cognitive, affective and skill outcomes, what accountabilities should schools have for job/educational placement and follow-up of graduates?
- What balances should be struck between societal values/ethics/law on the one hand and to culture/ethnicity/world citizenship on the other?
- How can investment in educational research be increased, and who should pay the cost?

Suits in Long Island and San Francisco seeking damages for alleged failure of school systems to educate students are causing educators to give more serious attention to educational objectives and their attainment (23). The integration of schools offers a new range of goals for urban isolates. "Rather than inveighing against busing," says James Teele, "we should be trying to establish optimal educational techniques and strategies designed to capitalize on the learning ability children have, and we should be aware of the arrogance and ignorance of those who argue that black children cannot learn." (34: 125)

Gartner hints at the difference, if not the complexity, of the new measures that are needed when he says that "A good deal of the behavior of underprivileged individuals outside the school context indicates considerable intelligence in terms of dealing with problems and interests close to their own lives. . . . In general, it might be said that they are rather 'human smart,' and their 'hidden IQs' are best seen in their human relations." (7: 223)

9. How can equal educational opportunity be achieved?

"The State of Texas shall provide an equal education to all children," read the preamble to a section of the new constitution Texans were to vote on in November 1975. All Americans seem to support the concept of equal educational opportunity. Thus, I was taken aback when the President of the State Board of Education, addressing a group of school administrators, urged them to organize to defeat the proposal. "There's no way we can provide an equal educational opportunity in Texas," he said.

His candor may have reflected a certain reality, an awareness of the complexity of attaining what to many persons is a desirable but highly abstract principle.

Serrano and Rodriguez set many state legislatures in motion toward more equalization of school finances. In the process, however, difficult questions about the meaning of "equality" have arisen. Should there be unequal funding of programs which have unequal costs? Should there be recognition of regional cost differentials? Should individual needs of pupils be weighted? Will wealthy communities be equalized down, or poor ones be equalized up, or both? What about intradistrict and even intraschool inequities in spending upon various programs? What about interstate inequalities?

The move toward equalization of funding comes at a critical time for urban schools. The problems of these districts range from eroded tax bases, to defeated referendums, to pressures of strikes and negotiations, to decaying buildings, to higher costs of compensatory and remedial instruction, to the overburden of municipal taxes, to declining enrollments, to costs of litigation and desegregation . . . and sometimes to all of the above. Although some cities spend considerably less than their suburbs on public schools, they generally rank above state averages. Thus, equalization down could further undercut the cities' ability to cope with the educational improvements that are needed.

- Should states spend more (give incentives) for integrated schools, as has been done to promote career and vocational education?
- Should weighting in state aid formulas be given to pupils with special needs, particularly the educationally disadvantaged?
- How should compensatory funding be directed--to the district, to the school, to the individual pupil?
- What are the results of past segregation and discrimination for which additional funds are needed to overcome?
- If the dictum "What the best parent wants for his child we should want for all children" were followed, what improvements in staffing, services, curricula, school sites, building facilities and equipment would be needed to make inner-city schools at least as attractive as suburban ones?

And what combination of the negative income tax, rent supplements, health care insurance, food stamps and clothing allowance policies would be needed to assure that poor kids have at least an average break in coming to school?

One man looks up, another looks down. The stargazer senses danger in man's history of aggression. The earth digger sees hope in a fossil record of man's cooperation. The paradox of mankind's nature continues to challenge social research.

"Human history is filled with monstrous cases of small differences--in skin pigmentation, or abstruse theological speculation, or manner of dress and hair style--being the cause of harassment, enslavement, and murder," says Astronomer Carl Sagan. He notes that if a being otherwise like us appeared with a patch of blue hair on his forehead and nose, the reaction would be repulsion. This reaction may have had adaptive value in tribal times, but has become dangerous today when there is need for reverence not just for all human beings, but for all life forms. (28: 7)

On the other hand, Archeologist Richard E. Leakey, who has dated the origin of man well beyond two million years ago in East Africa, speculates that our early ancestors were not aggressive creatures. They succeeded through cooperation and social unity. Man probably could not have survived so long solely through aggression; the cooperative traits are needed if man is to continue to survive.

Social scientists typically refrain from making value judgments about the passing human scene they seek to observe and describe. But they, like judges, educators, parents and students have a great stake in whether aggression or cooperation triumph in American society and on Space Ship Earth.

Fuzzy as the status of school integration has become, every contribution which research can make to bring it back into focus as a worthy and major goal can pay off in the just and peaceful society we all want for the future.

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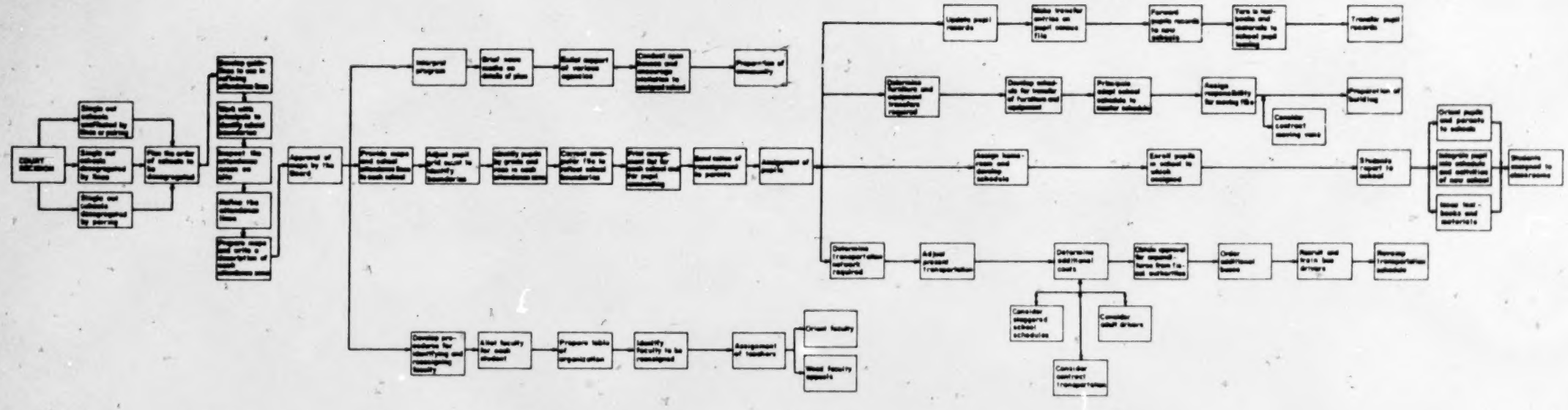

Charles Glatt, 1975